1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. Maria Munos, wife of Pedro Llancao in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 [13] 133 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 621 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 •797 871 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 [526] [756] At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

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Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE III

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FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antinao with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

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PLATE XVI

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FIG. 1. Two men from Renaco. Fermin Nahuelhual, the cacique (left), and Segundo Huenchual. Although Segundo regards himself as an Araucanian his face shows little evidence of Indian ancestry.

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871
797



FIG. 2. Children at Carrarriñe. Behind them is the one-room school conducted by the Misión Araucana. Domingo Carilaf, the teacher, is at the extreme right.

[end plate 16]

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

HISTORY

114 175 797

The 285 years of Spanish occupation of Chile and contacts with the Araucanians provided, in addition to the poems mentioned above, very little of interest to the anthropologist excepting through the writings of Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus entered Chile in 1593 and was expelled in 1768. One might say that the history of the Jesuits in Chile is the history of the Araucanians. All the leading histories of Chile of this period and nearly all of the Araucanian grammars and dictionaries in use during the Spanish colonial period were composed by the Jesuit fathers. Their published works and unedited manuscripts are still among the chief historical sources. The principal historical works that the student of Araucanía should consult are (most important works are marked *):[1]

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*D. BARROS ARANA, Luis MONTT, J. T. MEDINA, et al.: *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional.* 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1923. [Contains many of the works elsewhere mentioned separately, e. g., Góngora Marmolejo II, Núñez de Pineda III, Olivares IV, VII, and XXVI, Gómez de Vidaurre XIV, XV, Molina XI and XXVI, Ovalle XII, XIII, et al.]

*J. T. MEDINA: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile, 1518-1818.* 30 vols., Santiago 1888-1902.

*Claudio GAY: *Historia física y política de Chile.* 26 vols., Paris, 1844-54. [The French naturalist (1800-1872) explored much of Chile, 1828-1842, on commission from President Portales. *Documentos,* 2 vols., 1846-52, are valuable for such items as: *Cartas de don Pedro de Valdivia, Noticia sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos, Informe de Don Miguel de Olaverria,* etc.]

*Pedro de ANGELIS: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata.* 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. [1784-1859]

Alonso de GÓNGORA MARMOLEJO: *Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año del 1575.* Santiago, 1862. [Góngora (1524-1576) was captain for many years in the Araucanian wars.]

Francisco NÚÑEZ DE PINEDA Y BASCUÑAN: *Cautiverio Feliz ... y Razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile.* Santiago, 1863. [Captain Núñez (Chillán 1607-1680) based his book on a seven months captivity in 1629 among the Araucanians.]

*P. Alonso de OVALLE, S. J.: *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile.* Roma, 1646. [An "armchair" study done by a Chilean Jesuit (Santiago 1601-1651 Lima).]

*P. Diego de ROSALES, S. J.: *Historia general de el reyno de Chile.* 3 vols., Valparaiso, 1877-78. [This Jesuit annalist (Madrid 1601-1677) went to Chile in 1629, and spent many years among the Araucanians. Although pro-Indian, his history has much good realistic ethnography. The history carries to 1655.]

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1. Actes de la Société Scientifique du Chili—ASSC
Anales de la Universidad de Chile—AUC
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris—JSAP
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—JRAI
Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile—PMEAC
Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía—RCHG

3:Brand E-4 (no date)1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

bers, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of *encomiendas*. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla.

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bío-Bío by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e. g., Quinchamalli near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bío-Bío, with extention into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cunco (Kuncho); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cunco with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the province of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Manzaneros) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Ranqueles or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluche, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

MISSIONS

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[2] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1535, Mercedarians, 1540, and Dominicans, 1557, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucanía, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Río Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chileans, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariato Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the

2. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature is Robert Streit (1875-1930): *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1931, the 2nd and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 797 Prefectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, which he gave to German Capuchins from the Province of Bavaria). Salesian missionaries have worked among the Araucanians of Argentine Patagonia since 1879 (cf. *Bollettino Salesiano*, monthly, Turin, 1877-). Since the pacification of Araucanía several Protestant groups have entered the field, e.g., the Anglican Church's South American Missionary Society of London which opened its Araucanian mission[4] in 1895 (some valuable material is to be found in the *South American Missionary Magazine)*, the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions' Araucanian Indian Mission, and the American Southern Baptists. Temuco, capital of Cautín province, is the chief Araucanian market-town and headquarters, and here are several mission schools and convents. Among these are establishments of the Capuchins, Methodists, Baptists, and Hermanas de la Providencia. It is an interesting commentary on Protestant work in Araucanía that no Protestant missionary has yet made an outstanding contribution in linguistics or ethnology. Further, one might quote a Capuchin father concerning "Ciertas sectas protestantes o evangélicas de Inglatierra y Estados Unidos," that they are "sectas que predican con odio poco cristiano contra los sacerdotes católicos y las doctrinas e instituciones de nuestra santa religión. . . . En general estos nuestros hermanos disidentes ayudan a aumentar la confusión."

LINGUISTICS

114 19 The earliest known works on the Araucanian language and dialects (known variously as Araucano, Auca, Chileno or Chilidugu, Moluche, Che, Mapuche or Mapudungu, etc.) are lost, such as the grammar and dictionary of ca. 1595 by Padre Gabriel de la Vega, S. J. The earliest preserved work is by Padre Valdivia, S. J., a rather incomplete grammar published around the beginning of the 16th century. Then a long period ensued[5] before the much better works of Padre Febrés, S. J., and Padre Havestadt, S. J., appeared in 1765 and 1777. These were improved upon by Fray Hernández, O. F. M., in 1846. Little new or constructive work was accomplished until a trained philologist, Dr. Lenz, placed the study of Araucanian on a scientific basis in 1895. His work and example inspired a number of Chilean writers and Capuchin missionaries to collect and publish texts, and to revise the old grammars and dictionaries. Lenz was ably assisted by another great German philologist, R. R. Schuller. Now the Araucanian language can be considered as one of the six or eight most intensively studied Indian languages, although yet far from completely studied or satisfactorily

4. Dr. C. A. Sadleir, a Canadian, opened the S. A. M. S. work in Araucanía, although as early as 1838 Captain Allen Gardiner, R. N. (who was killed, 1851, in Tierra del Fuego) had planned such a mission. Dr. Sadleir later became affiliated with the Araucanian Indian Mission; has been elected honorary president of the Araucanian Federation of Chile; and, since 1901, has been translating various books of the Bible into Araucanian, with the assistance of Ambrosio Paillalef.

5. See Rudolf R. Schuller: *El vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643*, which reproduces an intervening work first published in 1647.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal.

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *eli*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear.

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design.

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes.

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of *mitmacs*, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuechenyi*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pillí* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the poorest quality, and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the [764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, skins, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few [764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to ferry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed
797 the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and outward forms, such as baptism, crosses in their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Nguruvilu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world.

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character.

Medina in his work, *Aborigènes de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez de Pineda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that *dametun*, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by arms, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Efforts are now being seriously made to bring this race within the pale of civilisation, and numerous schools and missions, Catholic and Protestant, have been established within their territories, which not only teach them religion and morals, but also instruct them in the rudiments of useful arts and employments.

Superstitions.—It should be clearly borne in mind that the Araucano as compared with the European is still in an infantile stage as regards intellect. These Indians, like all lower races, are very superstitious, and great believers in omens. Many of these superstitions are connected with animals or birds. Any event that does not fall within the scope or comprehension of their senses is regarded as the work of evil spirits. If they notice any unusual act of bird or beast, they immediately conclude that it is possessed. A fox, or puma that prowls round their hut by night, is a witch who has come to see what she can steal. On driving it away they take care to do it no bodily harm for fear of reprisals.

Many night birds are considered as forerunners of sickness or death when they utter their harsh cries in the neighbourhood of a dwelling. It is unlucky to meet thrushes and some other birds. If vultures followed the route of a war party, many of the number would return home, considering slaughter and defeat as inevitable. A fox, crossing the path of a similar party, indicated, by the way it took, the fate of the undertaking. If it passed to the left, they returned home, assured of the uselessness of proceeding. If on the other hand it turned to the right they were convinced of their triumph. When a dog bayed by night, it was a demon prowling round, on the look out to occupy somebody whose owner (*pillí*) was away, that is dreaming; and those that heard it woke their companions, to avoid such a misfortune. If a horse jibbed or shied, it was because some spirit (*huecuvu*) stopped the path, invisible to them, but which the animal could see. Humble-bees were considered as the ghost of some chieftain; frogs were the keepers and purifiers of water. A fire crackling or throwing out sparks announced visitors; sneezing violently while gambling brought them bad luck, as did also the twitching of the eyelids. They also imagine that any portion of the body is endowed with the qualities of the whole. Here we have the reason of their wearing the skins or heads of wild animals; that of the puma to give them strength and valour; of the fox for cunning; of the snake to enable them to crawl unseen among their enemies; eagles' feathers to make them rapid and fearless in the attack. They believe that the wearing of these articles endows the wearer with the qualities they represent.

It is curious to note to what extreme this belief was carried. Among the Huilliches it is a common thing to make their dice from the thigh bone of some celebrated player; while in the Cautin they ornament their horses' bridles with the tail of some celebrated racer.

Some dreams were unlucky. Thus, for instance, to dream of losing a tooth signified death to some member of the family, as did also a black dog or a white *tordo* (blackbird).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bío-Bío and the Imperial Rivers. 175 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge and new weapons with deadly effect. 175 648 144 175 648

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the missionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 175 648 797

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* culture in the central zone, from the Bío-Bío River to the Río Imperial and even to the Gulf of Reloncavi, remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of these zones. 175 648

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of Chiloé.[9] Thus by 1600 the Spaniards, in spite of heavy expenditures of blood and treasure, faced a triumphant foe across the Biobío.

This impasse which marked the turn of the century suggests the central problem in understanding Araucanian culture. What faculty or genius did the Araucanians possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed? How was it possible for the Araucanian warriors to boast rightfully, after some fifty years of warfare, that the Spaniards knew almost as much about the military art as they did?[10] Historians have been prone to avail themselves of superficially reasonable explanations: most cite the numerical superiority of the Indians; some blame the forest because it hampered the functions of the Spanish cavalry; others stress the overly long lines of supply from Peru, coupled with a chronic lack of viceregal interest. These factors are joined to a common belief that the Araucanians simply adopted the Spanish forms and techniques of war, making up in numbers what they lacked in skill. Chilean historians, especially since the nineteenth century when their homeland fought for independence from Spain, have quite happily viewed the historical record as a proof of Araucanian hence mestizo thence Chilean bravery and love of freedom. The point is that it is not merely a question of military science, topography, relative numerical strength, or racial declension. These may be significant particulars, but a war of survival between two ethnic groups implies a conflict of total cultures.

At once we are at a serious disadvantage because we have no such conception of early Araucanian culture, however well we may feel that we know the Spanish. By means of archaeological evidence and brief narratives of exploration we are able to piece together a rather crude notion of what Araucanian culture was like before the Spaniards came, but nothing more. Largely because the area under discussion became almost at once a zone of perpetual conflict, the work of the religious Orders did not develop as it did elsewhere in the Indies, and we keenly feel the lack of Mendicant chronicles. Consequently, most of our information concerning Araucanian life during the first century of conquest is derived from chronicles and histories of the war in which brief glimpses of Indian life all too infrequently appear. There are added limitations. Wherein the Indians were concerned, the chroniclers were seldom efficient observers. In matters of simple fact they tend to be trustworthy, but when the fact becomes interpretive they almost invariably fail to grasp the human thought and action that lays behind it. Rather than as

9 Alonso González de Nájera, "Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile" (CHC, vol. 16, pp. 10-14, 63-65, *passim*). The author was in Chile from 1601 to 1607. Experienced in military science, he made a brave attempt to analyze Araucanian resistance. His work is invaluable for Araucanian study.

10 *Idem*, pp. 93-94.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

262 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey,
843 or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double
184 yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Cofiaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, RECORDING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the home ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 1, Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining
241 fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, grazing land, and wheat
797 field; Río Mehuin and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2, Cofiaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3, Panguipulli area, the western end of Lago Panguipulli in the Andes: Pastureland in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4, Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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133
241





[797]





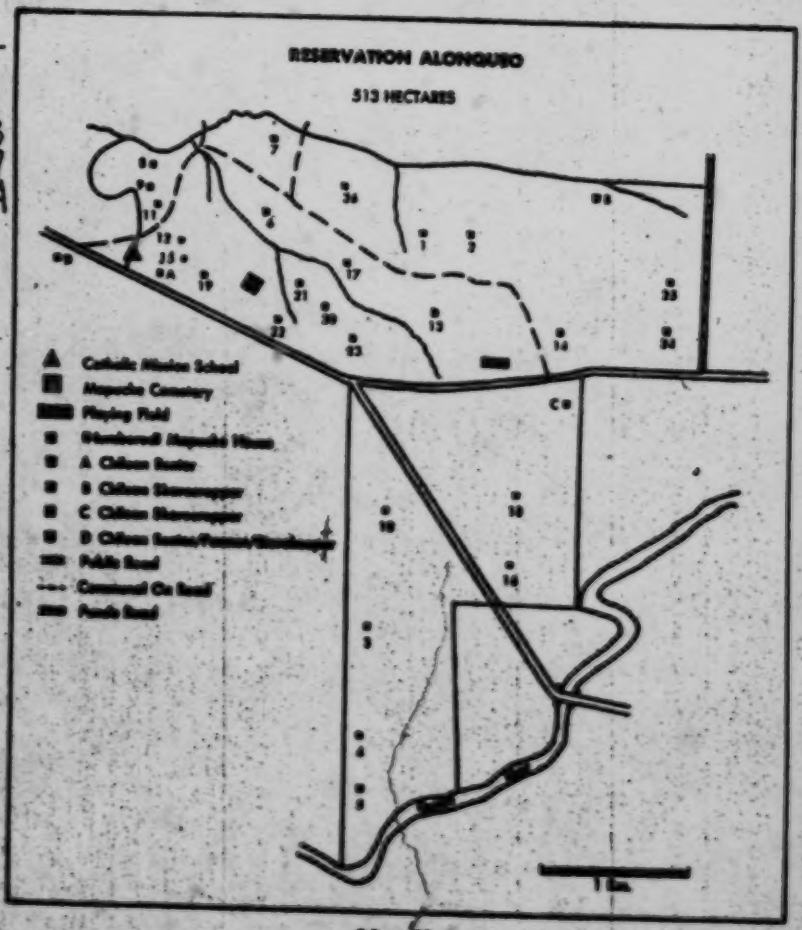
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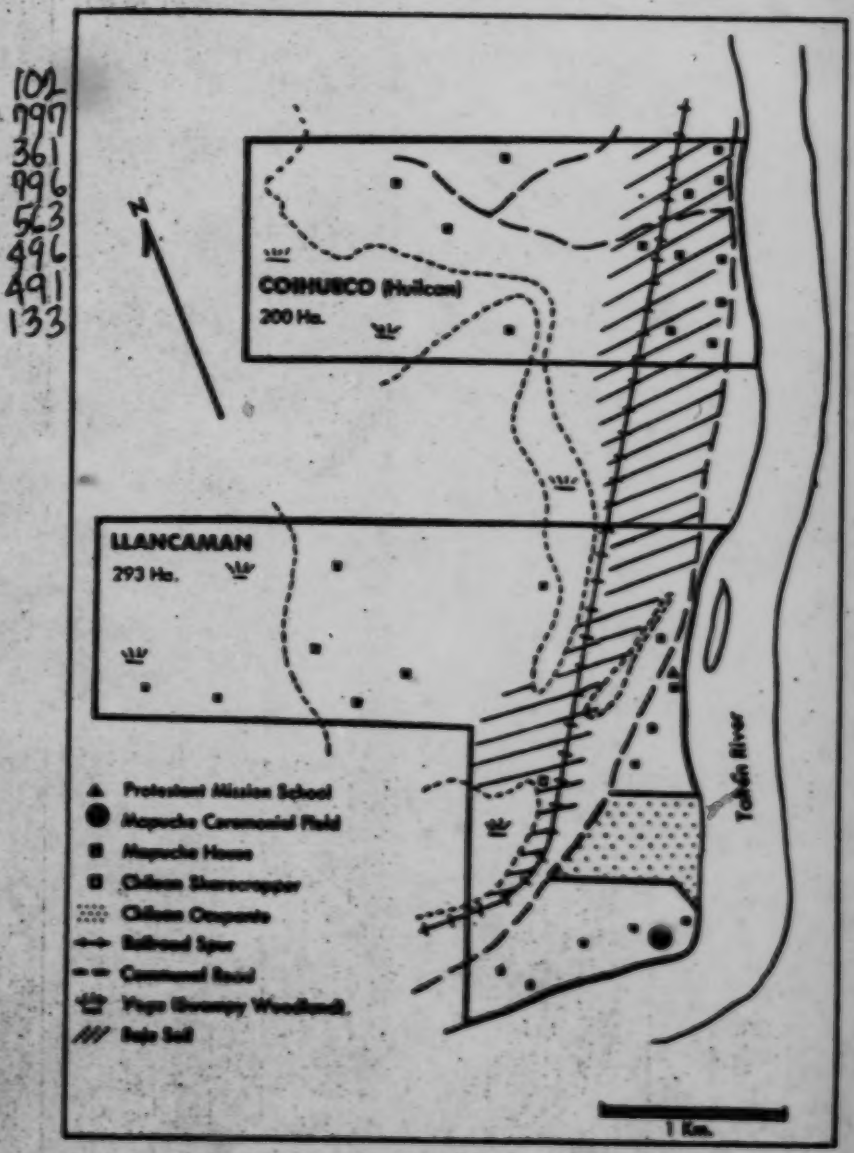
11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes



Map II


COIHUECO (Huilcan)
200 Ha.
LLANCAMAN
293 Ha.
N
Protestant Mission School
Mapuche Ceremonial Field
Mapuche House
Chilean Sharecropper
Chilean Orchards
Railroad Spur
Cultivated Field
Poplar Swampy Woodland
Rojo Soil
Tolhén River
1 Km.

MAP III

[4.36]

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society.

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

Unión Araucana is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 178 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereservation days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 798 177 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 192 195 [764] [765] *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

775 764 The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñil*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited [761] away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

764 On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). [537] This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most [822] attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional [799] color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if [797] the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the [574] deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

764 574 On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence, the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
CHACO INDIANS SK4
Puelche SI10
ARAUCANIANS SQ4

Ab 781

think it proceeded from no religious inclination towards the evil spirit, but only from fear of him, and from the compulsion used by the jugglers; so that they rather merit the imputation of stupidity than of blasphemy.

Ab C 776 171

Not only the Abipones, but likewise the Mocobios, Tobas, Yapitalakas, Guaycurus and other equestrian people of Chaco, boast themselves grandsons of the evil spirit, partakers no less of their superstition than of their madness. But how different are the opinions entertained by the southern equestrian tribes, who wander up and down the region of Magellan! They are all acquainted with the devil, whom they call Balichù. They believe that there is an innumerable crowd of demons, the chief of whom they name El El, and all the inferior ones Quezubû. They think, however, every kind of demon hostile and mischievous to the human race, and the origin of all evil, regarding them in consequence with dread and abhorrence.

AR P 776 821

The Puelches, Picunches, or Moluches, are unacquainted even with the name of God. These last ascribe all the good things they either possess or desire to the sun, and to the sun they pray for them.

AR P 797

When a priest of our order told them that God, the creator of all things, and amongst the rest of the sun, should be worshipped before the work of his own

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822

514 Abipon

hands, they replied; "Till this hour, we never knew nor acknowledged any thing greater or better than the sun." The Patagonians call God Soychù, to wit, that which cannot be seen, which is worthy of all veneration, and which does not live in the world; hence they call the dead *Soychuhèt*, men that dwell with God beyond the world. They seem to hold two principles in common with the Gnostics and Manichæans, for they say that God created both good and evil demons. The latter they greatly fear, but never worship. They believe every sick person to be possessed of an evil demon; hence their physicians always carry a drum with figures of devils painted on it, which they strike at the beds of sick persons, to drive the evil demon, which causes the disorder, from the body. The savages of Chili are ignorant of the name and worship of God, but believe in a certain aërial spirit, called Pillan, to whom they address supplications that he will scatter their enemies, and thanksgiving, amidst their cups, after gaining a victory. Pillan is also their name for thunder, and they worship this deity chiefly when it thunders. The devil, which they call Alvcè, they detest with their whole hearts. Hence, as they think life the best of all things, when any of them dies, they say that the evil